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5. THE DISUNITED CREW OF A FORGOTTEN SHIP (1730–1786)

The symptoms of disruption and crisis are always the same: a gradual relaxation of discipline, a questionable interpretation of the rules and deviation from them, a negligent overlooking of transgressions, leading in the end to the impossibility of a community reforming itself by its own efforts. Also, the schemata of such crises are never very diverse, so that anyone who has at their disposal simply a final list of deficiencies will, as a rule, only need general statements. Regular visitations of the religious communities (for example, during a change of guardian) were a means of maintaining the life of the order at the required level. If, however, inadequacies appeared, high representatives of the Church could intervene and subject the college to an inspection outside the scheduled term. The papal nuncio, Domenico Passionei, decided on such an extraordinary visitation of the College of the Immaculate Conception at the end of 1736. After a description of the course of the visitation, we can attempt, using various testimonies, to reconstruct the approximate development of the community in the years immediately preceding it (Fig. 27).

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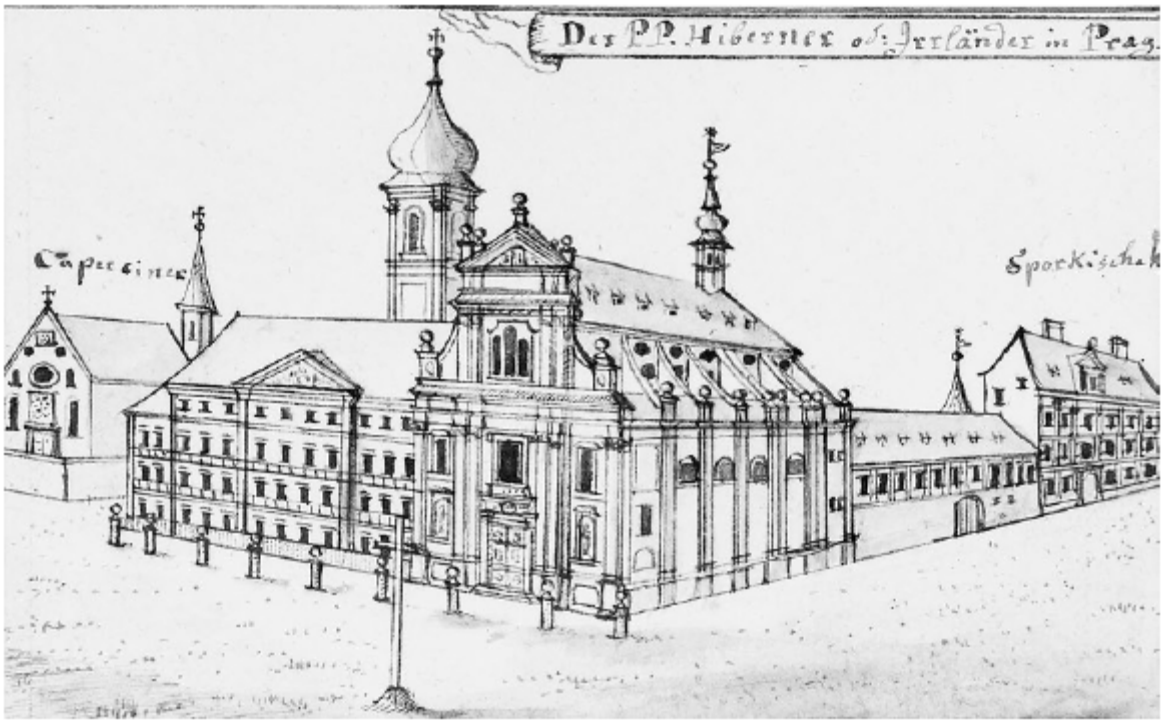

Fig. 27 A drawing of the Irish Franciscan church and the college by Friedrich Bernhard Werner (Before the mid-18th century) (NPÚ).

THE COURSE OF EVENTS

At about half past nine on the morning of 16 February 1737, drawn by six horses in hand, the coach of the Archbishop of Prague, Johann Moritz Gustav, Count Manderscheid-Blankenheim, pulled up outside the College of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. The Archbishop proceeded into the church, on whose threshold he was welcomed by the Irish Franciscans. Inside, for perhaps an hour, Manderscheid's chaplain and master of ceremonies checked whether the interior of the church was prepared as befitted the coming occasion. The canonical visitation had begun.

We are indebted for the detailed description of this *entrée*, possibly not so much to the meticulousness of a clerk, but rather to the hesitancy aroused, by all accounts, among the delegated visitators by the task at hand and which can be read between the lines of the introductory pages of the minutes of the visitation, recorded with the greatest possible exactitude. The document, as we will call it, is in fact a bundle of decidedly varied content: apart from the minutes of the visitation in the proper sense of the word, namely, records of the meetings of the commission and of discussions with individual friars, it contains *depositiones*, that is, written statements on the state of the college given to the visitators by a majority of the

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friars, the originals of the nuncio's credentials, the draft of the archbishop's speech and admonitions, copies of the internal regulations of the college, the concluding reports of the visitation commission, the originals and copies of the correspondence between the archbishop and the nunciature and the Irish college, plus other, less important writings only loosely connected with the actual visitation. Documents relating to the visitation of 1690 are attached to the back of the bundle.

The first announcement of the visitation had arrived in Prague sometime at the end of November the previous year. It was the authorisation from Domenico Passionei, the nuncio at the Imperial Court (1731–1738), dated 24 November 1736, for the Archbishop of Prague to carry out as his representative, together with the vicar general of the Archdiocese of Prague and the provincials of the Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits, a visitation of the Irish Franciscans.[1] In a further decree, dated 12 December 1736, the nuncio, with a view to the health of the archbishop, nominated the Abbot of Strahov, Marian Hermann, as his second representative during the impending visitation. The first official preliminary meeting of the visitators took place at the archbishopric on 6 February. It began at about nine o'clock in the morning and those present were the vicar general of the archdiocese, Jan Mořic Martini, the provincial of the Dominicans, Kajetán Burger, the provincial of the Franciscans, Valerián Humer, with his confrère, the former provincial, Severin Vrbčanský, for the Jesuits, Jan Seidel (who was rector of Prague's Old Town college from 1732 to 1736) in place of the provincial, the archbishop's chancellor, Antonín Jan Václav Vokoun, and the vice-chancellor, Jan Richter, as secretary. The archbishop appeared later.

One of the vital questions resolved by the commission was its right to carry out the visitation. In other words, its members feared that the Irish Franciscans would not accept the nuncio's undoubted authority without protest. The actions of the visitators would be assured by a papal brief and they therefore decided to start by trying to obtain one from the nuncio. During the proceedings, however, they changed their mind, believing that it would be better in the meantime to begin the visitation and if anyone objected to anything, they would apply for it then; the document could be obtained from Vienna within eight days.

After the archbishop had been welcomed, formal and practical matters were resolved, for example, the order in which the friars would be questioned during the visitation or how the questions would be arranged. The commission decided on the following categories. 1. Are there any documents from the last visitation recording which had not been adhered to? 2. Observance of liturgical obligations. 3. The quality and observance of choral worship. 4. Piety during divine

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worship and reverence for the Eucharist. 5. Observance of the statutes. 6. Behaviour of the superiors. 7. Punishment of disorders. 8. Good mutual relations among the superiors and between superiors and subordinates. 9. Observance of the vow of poverty. 10. Observance of the vow of chastity. 11. Observance of the vow of obedience. 12. Is the Rule observed? 13. Participation in prayers at mealtimes. Readings at mealtimes. 14. Financial matters. 15. Is the purpose of the college actually to prepare missionaries for England, Scotland and Ireland? 16. The numbers of missionaries sent annually to those countries. 17. The obtaining of means for the running of the college without troubling the kingdom. 18. The numbers of friars, how many are in the college, how many gather alms? If we are not to regard the final draft of the questions as a mere formality, then it must occur to us that the archdiocesan dignitaries and the superiors of the Bohemian religious orders had their doubts about the purpose of the college. The date of the visitation was also set at the meeting of the commission because the announcement to the Irish Franciscans was written the following day and delivered by the vice-chancellor on 8 February.

The opening of the visitation with the usual ceremonies took place in the church. After the blessing, the visitators inspected the ciborium, the purificator and the altar to discover how the Eucharist was stored. Then the commission and the friars went into the refectory, where the nuncio's decrees were read and participation assured. The archbishop then dismissed everyone and directed only the guardian to remain, reminding him "solemnly and emphatically" in Italian (!) to reveal everything and conceal nothing that might be of interest to the visitation commission. The guardian replied with an assessment of the current situation of the college: it was in good condition, the debts which it had had when he was elected had been paid. He had introduced several new measures to improve discipline (friars were not allowed to eat or drink anywhere in the city) and particularly incorrigible disturbers of the peace had been sent to other colleges. He complained, however, about his extremely unfavourable reception after attaining office, when he had had to spend thirteen weeks in Vienna as if in exile, about his limited authority and about his troublesome accord with the discreets. It must have been clear to the visitation commission that his authority with his confrères was not very great. With that, the introductory obligations ended and a further meeting was set for 20 February.

The visitation protocol basically contains two types of information. The first type is statistical data on the members of the college: name, age, number of years in the order and in the Prague college itself, country (in the case of lay brothers not from Ireland) or province (in the case of the Irish) of origin, and position or function within the college. The process of compiling

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this collection of data, unique for the college, is entirely clear. The second type – or possibly, in terms of its importance, the first, for it concerned what happened during the visitation – is much more problematic. After several introductory questions, individual friars began talking incessantly and presented to the visitators reality as it appeared to them and as they wanted the commission to perceive it. They elaborated, obfuscated and interpreted reality according to their own aims, sympathies and antipathies, doubtless, too, in good faith. They almost all agreed that existing relations in the college were untenable. The causes of this crisis, to name a few, were in no way unusual: two strong personalities, neither of whom could boast of integrity in the eyes of his colleagues, a mutual aversion between them and a guardian too weak and without enough support to resolve the accumulated problems. If to this we add faltering communication with higher authorities, Irish vehemence and malice, then the picture of relations pieced together from the individual statements, however harsh and unflattering, does in fact reflect the realities of life in the Prague college (Fig. 28).

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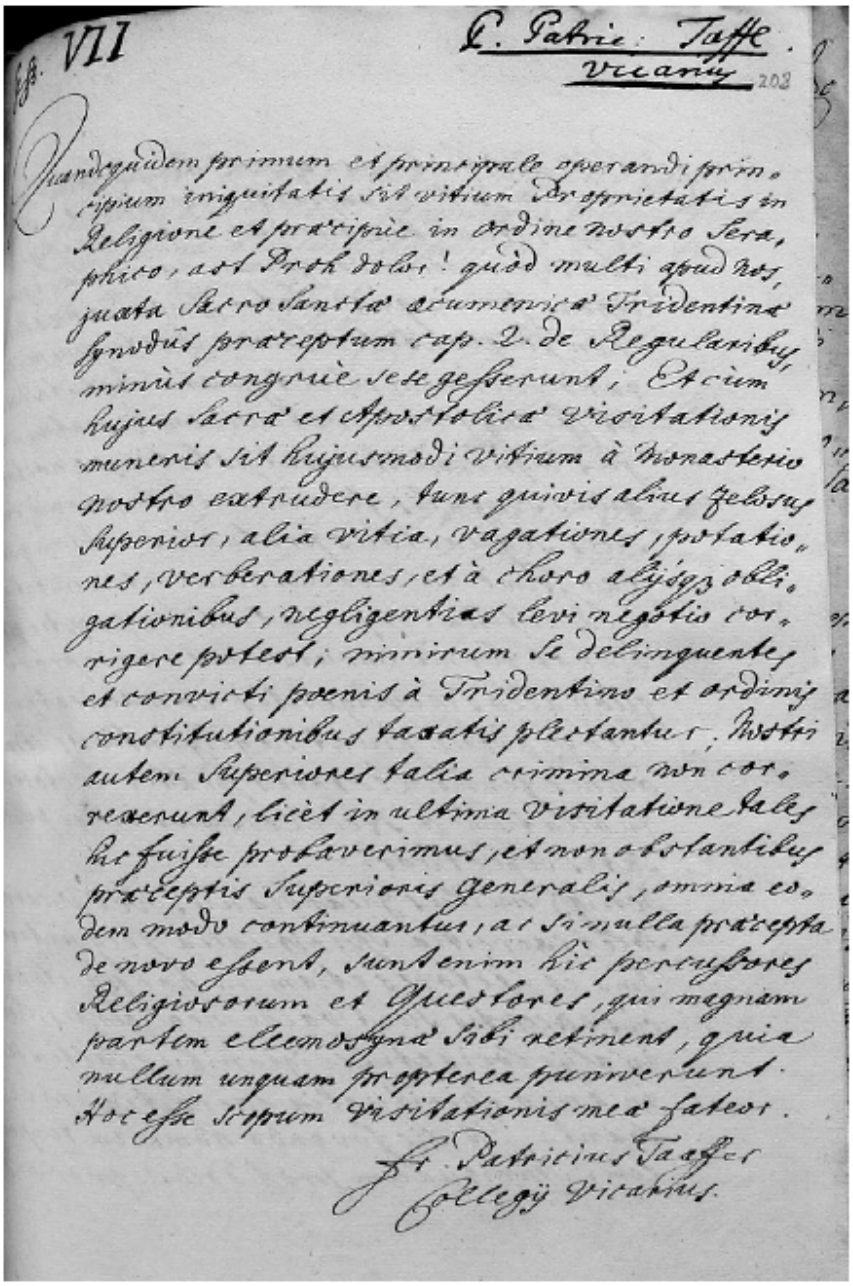

Fig. 28 Patrick Taaffe's utterance in the visitation protocol of 1737 (NA).

At the time of the visitation, the college had sixty-seven members, of whom eleven were lay brothers and nine were clerics, that is, not yet ordained priests. At that time, there were no novices at all in Prague, which accounts for the absence of the office of novice master. There were seventeen friars from Munster, including the guardian, then fourteen from Connaught, thirteen from Leinster and twelve from Ulster. Two young teachers, Anthony Deleny and William O'Brien, had only been in Prague for a few months and left for Rome during the visitation. Apart from the friars, there were also an unspecified number of secular students.

Among the lay brothers, there was only one Irishman and two Bohemians, while the rest came from German regions: one from the Rhineland-Palatinate, two from Swabia, two from Bavaria and one each from the Tyrol, Austria and Mainz. Twenty-seven-year-old Anton Kauser from Swabia had spent the least time in the order; just three months. The sixty-five-year-old

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Irishman Paul Jordan, who was the oldest lay brother of all, had spent the most time; thirty-four years, of which twenty-nine had been in Prague. In terms of age, Kauser was an exception, followed by the thirty-three-year-old Jakob Obermayer from Bavaria and the forty-three-year-old Bohemian, Bonaventura Weyr. Among the younger brothers was perhaps Paschal Ochetz from the Rhineland-Palatinate, who did not give his age but had been in the order just nine months. The ages of the remaining lay brothers were between forty and fifty-five. Their original occupations had been joiners, cobblers, cooks, tailors, fishermen and soldiers, and in the college they worked as kitchen assistants or served in the infirmary or the sacristy. Gabriel Pichler retained his original occupation of cobbler, Jordan served as nurse in the infirmary and Weyr was a gatekeeper together with the tertiary, Johann Kroner.

There were nine clerics altogether. Further information is lacking on one of these, Brother Didacus, who clearly made his statement to the visitation commission at a later date. Their ages were between nineteen and twenty-one and they had been in the order for between eighteen months and six years; this means that most had entered the Franciscan Order at about seventeen. They were studying philosophy and all of them were, understandably, Irish.

There are three instances where we lack more precise details concerning full members of the community: firstly, Daniel Confiden, who was Johann Michael, Count Sporck's chaplain and was absent at the beginning of the visitation; secondly, Anthony O'Neill, who showed that he had been in the order for fifteen years, so was more a member of the younger generation; and finally, which is especially annoying, the current guardian, about whom we know only that he was from Munster.

The community as a whole was relatively young; only seven members (not including the guardian, who was probably not one of the younger ones) out of forty-five were over forty. The oldest of all, Peter Jones, was sixty-five years old. This age range would correspond to the purpose of the college as a centre of study. For some of them, joining the Franciscans was not straightforward. Some friars, already ordained priests, had been in the order for only two years so it can be ruled out that they had entered the order as youths of seventeen or eighteen. How many actual students were there? There were four who specifically stated that they were studying philosophy, another four who did not specifically state what they were studying and ten students of theology. Four students stated that they had completed their study of theology. Apart from these, there were other young men who did not say that they were studying or that they were preparing for missions or that they had any kind of function in the community; at most, within the community they enjoyed the title *lector habitualis*, that is, they could teach

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when required. The necessary offices were otherwise occupied for the most part by older members of the community: the guardian, two discreets with the title *lector jubilatus* (Peter Jones from Leinster and the fifty-eight-year-old Rudolph O'Neill), the forty-two-year-old lector in theology Anthony Murphy from Connaught as the third member of the discretorium, and the thirty-seven-year-old lector in theology Nicholas Dalton from Leinster as the fourth member. There were two further lectors in theology, forty-one-year-old James Griffin from Munster and thirty-four-year-old Joseph Donnelly from Ulster, so that the proportionality of individual provinces was preserved. Twenty-eight-year-old Francis Fleming from Leinster and his contemporary, Michael Keogh from Connaught were lectors in moral theology. Two lectors in theology are to be found in the protocol: Anthony Magennis from Ulster and Anthony Wallis from Munster both twenty-eight. Fifty-six-year-old Patrick Taaffe was vicar. Forty-seven-year-old Francis Allin from Connaught, who had been serving as preacher and confessor for seventeen years, looked after wood for the college. The position of preacher and confessor was also held by sixty-four-year-old Bartholomew Fitzgerald, who had come from Lorraine to Prague eight months previously to train the friars in Gregorian chant, and the former sacristan, Laurence Crowe. The current sacristan had only been in the college for nine months and was, according to one statement, little suited to his position because he did not speak German. Among the other members of the college, Thomas Magdonon had been serving as chaplain to Count Herberstein for nine months.

On 20 February 1737, the visitation recommenced, with the lay brothers making their statements first. The visitators had been given information beforehand about the previous visitations in 1664, 1714 and 1735. At the archbishopric, they clearly remembered Pfaltz's indignation in 1690, because preserved documents were attached to the visitation protocol. They also added regulations for the tightening of college discipline, which the commissary visitator, Peter Jones, formulated as notes to the college statutes. In 1714, the commissary visitator, MacHugo, had also implemented changes in the college statutes during the visitation.

There were eleven sessions of the visitation and it ended officially only in July, the visitation protocol being completed on 1 October. In the college, during this long period, there were more and less stormy reactions to the visitators' investigations, as some of those who made statements informed the commission and as the commission rebuked the college for its inappropriate behaviour. Some of the friars gave the visitators their own statements on the condition of the college and these were appended to the protocol.

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There was nothing that was praiseworthy. The impression gained on the spot by the commission was undoubtedly even worse than that gained by the reader from the visitation protocol. The visitators could not be accused of inexperience or a lack of knowledge of the monastic environment, nor of partisanship or using stricter criteria because the community stood entirely outside the local church structure and its members were foreigners. Roughly on the basis of the above questions, the visitators drew up a summary and came to the following conclusions. Meditation, discipline, college Masses and spiritual exercises were all very much neglected. Only three or four friars sang in the choir, which, for a friary with almost seventy members, was inexcusable. It is, however, interesting that, apart from lay brothers, more than twenty of those who made a statement complained about the poor attendance at the choir. Monastic discipline and subordination had simply deteriorated, subordinates had little respect for their superiors, and the superiors hardly offered their subordinates a good example by which to retain their authority. Community life was not maintained, there was always more than enough to eat on the superiors' table, while their subordinates went hungry. All the friars saw the reasons for the lack of adequate food as being due to too many secular students being fed at the college, some of the students serving as lectors' assistants. The statements vary principally in their numbers: some speak of five or six, others of as many as eleven. One of the friars stated that aristocratic students were invited to meals and regaled to the detriment of the brothers. The superiors added items of clothing to the habit of the order, in contravention of the regulations (those on footwear and head coverings), the subordinates were dressed in tatters, dirty and driven to providing themselves with the requisite clothing by their own efforts.

Peace and tranquillity did not prevail in the college and the community was divided into factions. It even went as far as violent excesses. The superiors were negligent towards this state of affairs, punishing only according to which faction the person involved belonged; sometimes the injured party was punished more than the guilty party. Sins against the vow of poverty, which were not even regarded as sins, had firmly established themselves. In its final report, the commission made the bitter declaration that "some can be reproached for being more in contact with money than with a consecrated chalice and paten." The main reason for this misconduct was the rather unfortunate practice, introduced at the college several decades before, which allowed those who gathered alms to keep part of the collection for their own needs. None of the friars specified what proportion of the money collected this amounted to (allegedly from one third to one half), but, in any case, there was a shortage of funds that could have been used, for example, for repairs to the college or the equipping of missionaries travelling to England,

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Scotland and Ireland. This college practice undoubtedly made alms gathering more attractive, so that even lectors who should not have absented themselves from their students devoted themselves to it. The majority of friars denounced this practice before the visitation commission. Some members of the college even incurred debts and, in order to evade their creditors, applied successfully for a transfer. Not even the observance of the vow of chastity was impeccable, not to mention vulgar speech and songs. There was relatively little criticism of studies. Apart from complaints against the lectors who went out to gather alms, the visitators criticised the poor knowledge of the students sent from Ireland (lacking the basics of Latin, they really were problematic), the inadequacies in the study of moral theology and the sometimes over-lengthy exposition of those teaching, which prevented the gathering of the necessary material from theology in three years.

THE PROTAGONISTS: VIEWS FROM WITHIN

Sometime in the autumn of 1733, Michael MacCullin, then guardian of the college and lector in theology, fell ill during his period of office. His illness was considered so serious that it seemed necessary to appoint the praeses as the guardian's deputy. On 11 November, Nicholas Dalton was appointed *pro interim*, and because the guardian's condition did not improve but further deteriorated, after two months he was confirmed in office.

Nicholas Dalton was born around 1700 in Leinster and had entered the order at about the age of nineteen. At the beginning of the 1730s, he most likely occupied the position of lector in philosophy at the college. Without this preparation, it would have been difficult for him to take over the lectures in moral theology after Bernard Molloy's death at the beginning of 1733 and, although unexpectedly, in the correct manner. Because it was the turn for someone from Leinster, the discreets put his name forward to the general, who then confirmed Dalton in office in May 1733. Dalton's professional qualifications were good and later, during the visitation, despite all the complaints, no-one seriously cast doubt on them (the reservations of the unquestionably excellent James Griffin must be attributed to a mutual antipathy). On the contrary, he was praised by the students and one of them even flatteringly called him *aquila scholasticae.* He was, however, a complex character, not without ambition, with a tendency to severity and a quick temper which, under the pressure of circumstances, manifested itself as aggression. He was decidedly not the man for a superior position. Dalton's confrères

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characterised him with the attributes furious, impatient, hypochondriac or bilious. Under normal circumstances, however, these traits remained hidden.

Michael MacCullin the guardian, died on 16 January 1734. It was then necessary to select suitable candidates immediately for the two vacant positions – lector in theology and guardian. For the former, the discreets decided on Dalton, for the latter it was more difficult to come to an agreement and the circumstances that ensued are not too clear even from the statements in the protocol. James Griffin stood as candidate against Dalton.

James Griffin was four years older than Dalton, he came from Munster and had entered the order at about seventeen. He was a learned and able theologian with a gregarious and sociable nature; he did not shun female company and sometimes amused himself in town, he maintained contacts with a number of aristocrats, both Irish emigrants and local nobility. His knowledge of worldly behaviour gained him a number of followers and admirers as well as some more or less intractable adversaries who rightly blamed him for the too lax discipline, the very casual conception of the vow of poverty and intimate contacts with secular persons. His critics, however, in their discontent, let themselves slip into pettiness: in the statements, there were constant references to Griffin's close relationship with an Englishwoman named Bishop, which had been discussed during the previous visitation, during which Griffin had been reprimanded for his conduct. According to several statements, in certain ways Griffin's behaviour had recently improved, but suspicion of financial machinations had arisen and, in particular, the burden of his old reputation remained with him which, in the eyes of his adversaries, could only be rectified with difficulty. He definitely could not improve his reputation in the eyes of Nicholas Dalton.

Measured in terms of his publishing activity, in the first half of the eighteenth century, Griffin was a star of the first magnitude in the Prague college. It is not, however, only a matter of quantity (we know nothing of Dalton's own work) but also of a critical attempt in his philosophico-theological works to connect the old with what was useful in the new tendencies.[2] In 1727, together with the thesis James O'Byrne defended under Griffin's chairmanship, his *Nucleus celebriorum fidei controversiarum* was published. The copy preserved in the Strahov library is interesting, among other things, for its provenance. In 1727, Griffin gave this to the then seventeen-year-old Johann Anton Kajetan of Wunschwitz, son of the genealogist and heraldist, Gottfried Daniel of Wunschwitz. It is one of the proofs of Griffin's relations with a family of the nobility, though one far from the noblest. He also knew the Countess of Martinice and her daughter Aloisie, Countess of Šternberk, Count Filip Kinský, Countess Pötting and

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Count Browne, whose estates he is said to have temporarily managed. Griffin's editorial work is evidence of his relations with the Irish emigrant nobility; that is, the publication of a genealogy of the MacAwley family, written by Michael Adam Franck von Franckenstein in 1722. Two years later, confirmation of the trustworthiness of its contents was shown by, among others, the then superiors of the college including the guardian, Francis Fitzgibbon. In 1736, when the treatise was published, it was also opportune for another reason because Philip MacAwley had just been made a Count of the Holy Roman Empire (Fig. 29; Fig. 30). Griffin's main literary area was, however, theology. In 1732, his *Tractatus theologicus de ultimo fine hominis* and *Tractatus theologicus de tribus naturae humanae statibus* were published, and, then in 1735, *Tractatus theologicus expendens quaestiones prologeticas Libri primi sententiarum, juxta mentem Joannis Duns Scoti*, which was the edition, with an up-to-date title page and dedication, still in use (as far as we know) in 1739 and then again in 1741, this time during Anthony MacNamara's disputation under the chairmanship of Nicholas Dalton! His *Tractatus theologicus de Deo uno* was published in 1736 and *Tractatus theologicus de intellectu et voluntate Dei* in 1738. The last publishing achievement by Griffin that we know of was the publication of *Tractatus catholicus de divino opificio hexameron* by Bonaventure Baron, which was, according to the title page, part ten of Griffin's works. At that time already *lector jubilatus*, Griffin, brought out the book in Prague in 1744 and dedicated it to the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Žďár nad Sázavou, Bernard Hennet, who, judging by the foreword, contributed financially to its publication.[3]

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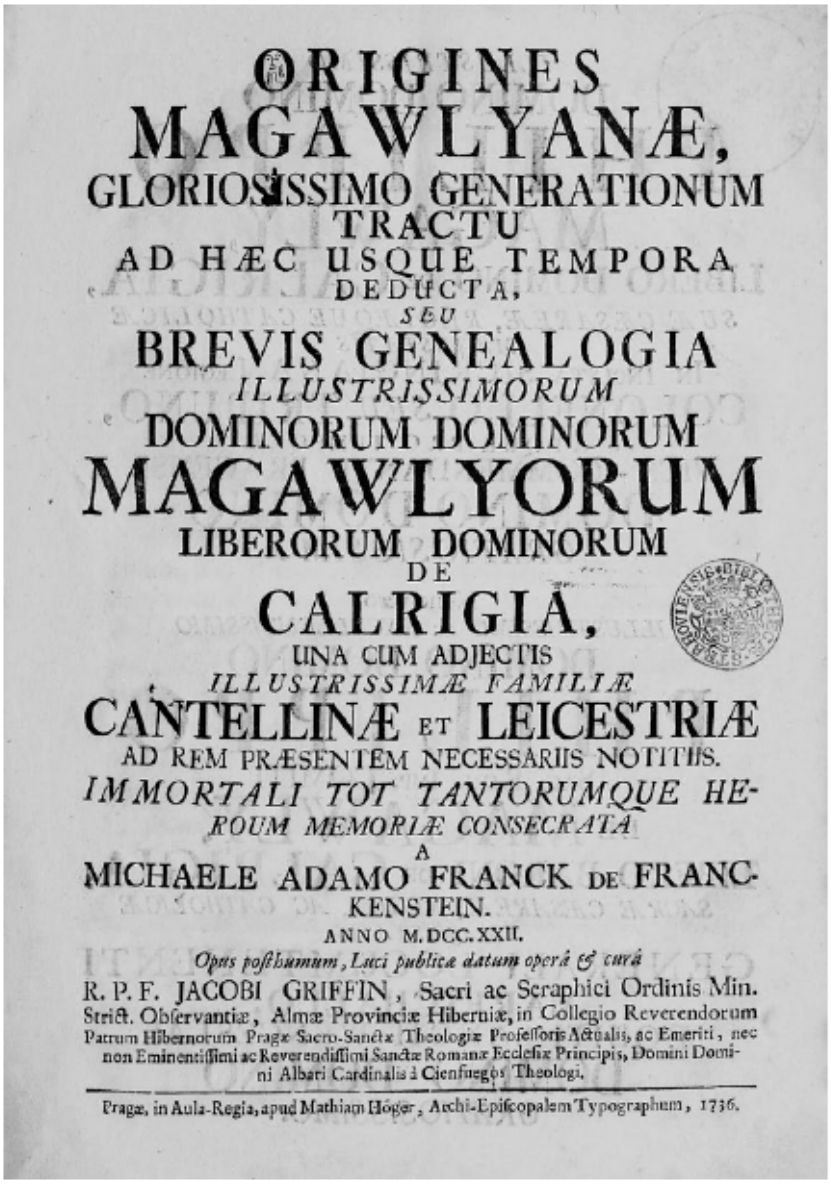

ORIGINES
MAGAWLYANÆ,
GLORIOSISSIMO GENERATIONUM
TRACTU
AD HÆC USQUE TEMPORA
DEDUCTA,
SEU
BREVIS GENEALOGIA
ILLUSTRISSIMORUM
DOMINORUM DOMINORUM
MAGAWLYORUM
LIBERORUM DOMINORUM
DE
CALRIGIA,
UNA CUM ADJECTIS
ILLUSTRISSIMÆ FAMILIÆ
CANTELLINÆ ET LEICESTRIÆ
AD REM PRÆSENTEM NECESSARIIS NOTITIIS.
IMMORTALI TOT TANTORUMQUE HEROUM MEMORIÆ CONSECRATA
A
MICHAELE ADAMO FRANCK DE FRANCKENSTEIN.
ANNO M.DCC.XXII.
Opus posthumum, Luci publicæ datum operâ & curâ
R. P. F. JACOBI GRIFFIN, Sacri ac Seraphici Ordinis Min. Strict. Observantiæ, Almæ Provinciæ Hiberniæ, in Collegio Reverendorum Patrum Hibernorum Pragæ Sacro-Sanctæ Theologiæ Professoris Actualis, ac Emeriti, nec non Eminentissimi ac Reverendissimi Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Principis, Domini Domini Albani Cardinalis à Cienfuegos Theologi.
Pragæ, in Aula-Regia, apud Mathiam Höger, Archi-Episcopalem Typographum, 1736.

Fig. 29 The title page of the work about the descent of the MacAwley family by M.A. Franck. Prague 1736 (SK).

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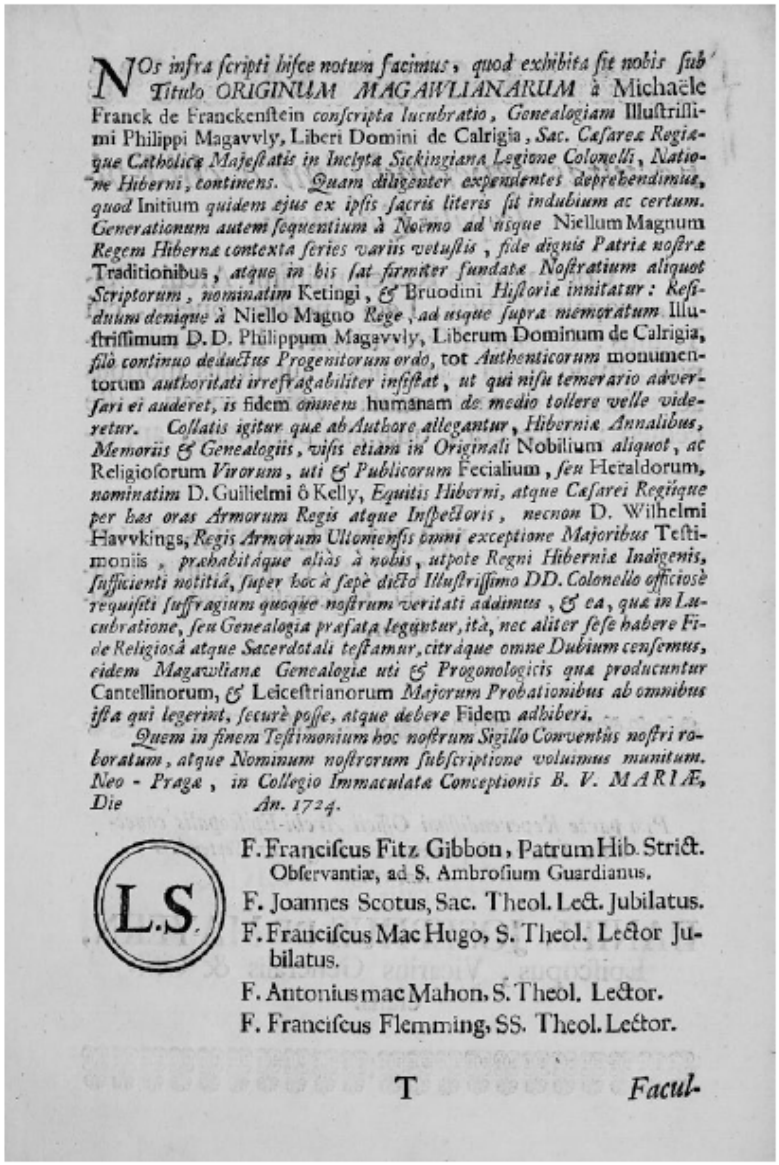

NOs infra scripti hisce notum facimus, quod exhibita sit nobis sub Titulo ORIGINUM MAGAWLIANARUM à Michaële Franck de Franckenstein conscripta lucubratio, Genealogiam Illustrissimi Philippi Magavvly, Liberi Domini de Calrigia, Sac. Cæsareæ Regiæque Catholicæ Majestatis in Inclyta Sickingiana Legione Colonelli, Nationè Hiberni, continens. Quam diligenter expendentes deprehendimus, quod Initium quidem ejus ex ipsis sacris literis sit indubium ac certum. Generationum autem sequentium à Noëmo ad usque Niellum Magnum Regem Hibernæ contexta series variis vetustis, fide dignis Patriæ nostræ Traditionibus, atque in his sat firmiter fundatæ Nostratium aliquot Scriptorum, nominatim Ketingi, & Bruodini Historiæ innitatur: Residuum denique à Niello Magno Rege, ad usque supra memoratum Illustrissimum D. D. Philippum Magavvly, Liberum Dominum de Calrigia, filò continuo deductus Progenitorum ordo, tot Authenticorum monumentorum authoritati irrefragabiliter insistat, ut qui nisu temerario adversari ei auderet, is fidem omnem humanam de medio tollere velle videretur. Collatis igitur quæ ab Authore allegantur, Hiberniæ Annalibus, Memoriis & Genealogiis, visis etiam in Originali Nobilium aliquot, ac Religiosorum Virorum, uti & Publicorum Fecialium, seu Heraldorum, nominatim D. Guilielmi ô Kelly, Equitis Hiberni, atque Cæsarei Regiique per has oras Armorum Regis atque Inspectoris, necnon D. Wilhelmi Havvkings, Regis Armorum Ulidensis omni exceptione Majoribus Testimoniis, præhabitâque aliàs à nobis, utpote Regni Hiberniæ Indigenis, sufficienti notitiâ, super hoc à sæpè dicto Illustrissimo DD. Colonello officiosè requisiti suffragium quoque nostrum veritati addimus, & ea, quæ in Lucubratione, seu Genealogia præfata leguntur, ità, nec aliter sese habere Fide Religiosâ atque Sacerdotali testamur, citràque omne Dubium censemus, eidem Magawlianæ Genealogiæ uti & Progonologicis quæ producuntur Cantellinorum, & Leicestrianorum Majorum Probationibus ab omnibus ista qui legerint, securè posse, atque debere Fidem adhiberi.

Quem in finem Testimonium hoc nostrum Sigillo Conventûs nostri roboratum, atque Nominum nostrorum subscriptione voluimus munitum. Neo - Pragæ, in Collegio Immaculatæ Conceptionis B. V. MARIÆ, Die An. 1724.

L.S.

F. Franciscus Fitz Gibbon, Patrum Hib. Strict. Observantiæ, ad S. Ambrosium Guardianus.

F. Joannes Scotus, Sac. Theol. Lect. Jubilatus.

F. Franciscus Mac Hugo, S. Theol. Lector Jubilatus.

F. Antonius mac Mahon, S. Theol. Lector.

F. Franciscus Flemming, SS. Theol. Lector.

T Facul-

Fig. 30 The superiors of the Prague Irish Franciscan college testify to the noble descent of the MacAwley family. Michael Adam Franck of Franckenstein, *Origines Magawlyanae*, Prague 1736 (SK).

Let us, however, return to 1734. Immediately after MacCullin died, Dalton became the guardian of the college. He tried to reform those friars whose discipline was lax (most likely Griffin and his followers), but he also aroused opposition to himself by his quick-tempered and unmanageable behaviour. The conflict came to a head in July, when there was an ugly scene between Dalton and a student, Thomas Bruodin, who was agitating the students against the guardian. The leader of those who were dissatisfied was Griffin, and the following day he summoned Dalton to account before the discreets and accused him of being insane, psychologically unbalanced and incapable of managing his appointed office. What happened then is not too clear (if we do not take into consideration the subjective description of the intrigues connected with Dalton's dismissal in his writings), but, in the end, the superiors of the order decided on a change of guardian. As we can only deduce from the mutually contradictory statements, William Hogan from Munster was proposed to the college by the superiors, although he was evidently not in Prague at the time. Dalton was behind the selection of Hogan, though

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some members of the college's discretorium obviously proposed Griffin. Finally, the general of the order confirmed Hogan's appointment, which affected the majority of the members of the college who were now united at least in that their right to choose the next guardian had been restricted. Hogan's appointment immediately became a political affair when somewhere the suspicion was voiced that he had been recommended by the Spanish *infante*, Don Carlos, and that, consequently, in the heart of the Habsburg Monarchy, he had to be considered "politically unreliable." This time, Griffin's clique had turned to the secular authorities. That was, then, the reason for Hogan's exile in Vienna and his cold reception after his arrival in Prague. His situation was indeed unenviable: at first neither Griffin's nor Dalton's supporters had any reason to welcome him. Although after a time the antagonism lessened, extremely tense relations with James Griffin continued and some members of the college were under the suspicion that the somewhat better relations with Dalton had been, on the part of the guardian, bought by concessions to the detriment of justice, motivated by fear. In the meantime, Dalton's psychological condition and behaviour worsened. He began to slacken in the fulfilment of his college responsibilities and his uncouth behaviour culminated in him striking the vicar, Patrick Taaffe, allegedly due to a dispute over a friar. The college was torn between Dalton, Griffin and the guardian, and those who would perhaps have liked to remain neutral were identified, whether they liked it or not, with one or other faction. This was the community that the visitators had entered and were supposed to reform.

A VAGUE RESOLUTION: THE QUESTION OF EDUCATION AND AUTHORITY

In choosing the means of reform, the visitators mainly accepted proposals by members of the college themselves. Above all, they recommended that the regulations be confirmed by the sacred congregation *De propaganda fide*, in order for the members of the college to be supported by the law and to halt and eliminate the deterioration in the awareness of what should be adhered to. This proposal was well founded: directly attached to the visitation protocol are two different copies of the internal regulations, which differ in detail from the official version which was approved later. The differences were decidedly not just peripheral matters: while the copy which is close to the later official version envisages an eight-member council of discreets (excluding the guardian), the other version, which was put into practice, explicitly speaks only

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of a four-member council. The archbishop, at least temporarily, attempted to prevent these inconsistencies in such a basic matter as the organisation of the college when he drew up the instructions which were obviously intended to guide the members of the college into approving their own regulations. Another reform was more frequent visitations: once every three years, the college should have a visitation by the commissary general of the *natio Germano-Belgica*, under the control of other Irish Franciscan colleges "in these lands," while in the intervening two years, it would be under the control of a suitable man dedicated to the work and appointed by the commission. It seemed to the commission entirely inappropriate for the guardian, along with the discreets, to decide who to send to another college, or who to ask to come to the Prague college from somewhere else. The general of the order would decide how this practice should be changed. In the college, there should only be as many friars as there were cells (for example, Rudolph O'Neill proposed that the number of friars be reduced to ten from each province). The laity, whether famous or not, should not be invited to table (the guardian proposed reducing the number of secular students to four, or five at the very most) and there could be only two *lector habituales* in the college as substitute teachers. Hogan, the guardian, had a particularly low opinion of this post: his proposal was that everyone who graduated in theology should be sent to Ireland for a year because, for the most part, *lectores habituales* were of no use to the college: they were companions to lectors in their ceaseless wanderings or they acted as chaplains on country estates, where, instead of books, they concerned themselves with firearms (*sclopetis*) and fowling and forgot about their calling as missionaries.

In general, the visitators demanded that the regulations of the order and the college be observed and that there be regular supervision of the college. The statement that they would not tolerate disputes between natives of the various parts of Ireland is one that was easier said than done. They proposed, however, to dismiss Hogan the guardian, Dalton, Griffin and also Franz Summer, a somewhat problematic lay brother. Besides these hot-tempered members, others were discovered who had to depart. The superiors of the order were evidently in no hurry; William Hogan was still guardian in 1739 and James Griffin and Nicholas Dalton, as discreets, confirmed the wording of the regulations in 1744.

The friars themselves had reservations about their studies. Above all, they recommended extending the study of philosophy to three years because the lack of preparation of the new arrivals from Ireland did not allow the material to be mastered in two years. They also found

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deficiencies in the study of moral theology, which was adversely affected by poor time-keeping in daily study. One precondition for a high standard was, of course, that the lectors remained within the college during the school year.

William Hogan submitted a paper with proposals for reform. He suggested a reduction in the powers of the discretorium in favour of a strengthening of the powers of the guardian (possibly, he himself had had the experience that if the discreets did not want to agree with the guardian, then he was practically powerless) and the reduction of the discretorium to four members including the guardian instead of four without the guardian. However, the guardian should not be allowed to be a lector who actually taught. In terms of study, he recommended the same reforms as his confrères, apart from the prolongation of the study of theology to four years, with the division of the material in theology so that two lectors would teach speculative theology, one biblical theology and one canon law. He also asserted the obligatory nature of Scotism and forbad attacks on the theological schools of other orders. The opportunity of going into the city was to be limited, the number of secular students was to be reduced and the exact amount of money a friar could have with him was to be stipulated. Once every three years, there must be a visitation, and the visitator would not be from the college but nevertheless from the Franciscan Order.

The Irish Franciscans indicated their willingness to reform, the visitation commission compiled its final report and submitted the papers to the nunciature in Vienna. As evidenced by the preserved documents, further development was somewhat drawn out and clearly without major convulsions. As stated above, the visitation protocol was finished on 1 October 1737, and the final report sent to the nunciature in Vienna. In February 1738, the archbishop informed the college that, until further notice or another decree was issued, the sacred congregation *De propaganda fide* had forbidden the sending of friars to other friaries or outside the archdiocese without his written permission. In April, the papal nuncio ordered that, until further decisions were made by *De propaganda fide*, the college should maintain the same conditions as during the visitation or immediately after it. At the beginning of May, *De propaganda fide* again demanded all the documents connected with the visitation and, at the end of the month, they were transferred from Prague to Rome via the Vienna nunciature. Several documents from the spring of that year have been preserved, confirming that the archbishop did indeed temporarily supervise the college.

At the beginning of March 1741, after their decision of 27 February had been ratified by Pope Benedict XIV on 1 March, the sacred congregation *De propaganda fide* issued a decree. It

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confirmed that the college fell directly within the jurisdiction of the general of the order and also the wording of the statutes from 1664.[4] On this occasion, what was prepared was clearly a copy of the statutes confirmed in 1665, into which the above decree had been inserted. In the college, however, this measure was not met with a favourable response and, almost two years later, *De propaganda fide* discussed a request, presented by the commissary visitator, Fr. Daniel Toole, the guardian and the council of discreets, for the reforms which had been introduced into the statutes in 1714 by the then commissary visitator, MacHugo. The sacred congregation approved the revision but forbad the superiors to introduce further reforms. The revised wording of the statutes was confirmed in Prague on 12 August 1744. The guardian at the time was Rudolph O' Neill (Fig. 31),[5] the discreets were James Griffin, Nicholas Dalton, Anthony Murphy and Anthony Magennis. In view of the incompleteness of the college papers, the question is whether all the deleted passages are the result of this revision. The greatest changes were made in the chapters on the guardian and the lectors. The deleted passages were on the following subjects: the selection of friars to be presented to the general of the order for the office of guardian, the punishment for the suppression of edicts of superiors, the relationship of the temporary commissary to the superiors of the college, the choice of commissary visitator and practically the whole of the chapter on lectors (apart from two articles). The powers of the discreets were restricted. The deletion of the articles concerning lectors may have been connected with the end of the public activity of the Franciscan teachers at the archiepiscopal seminary, following which these passages were regarded as unnecessary. The reform concerning the selection of the guardian could indicate that next time he was to be appointed directly by the general of the order. In 1740, the general chapter in Valladolid attempted to resolve the business of the property of the college, possibly even under the influence of the Prague visitation, when it decided that the general would appoint two commissaries for the Prague and Louvain colleges who would inquire into and determine the limits of the income necessary to maintain the colleges. Exceeding these limits or accumulating property would be punishable. This measure was not so much aimed at friaries who were too rich as at the attitude of some of its members, as witnessed by the visitation commission in Prague. Complaints against the Irish Franciscans due to the gathering of alms were also brought by the Bohemian province.[6] The Irish evidently resolved these complications, not specified in further detail, by means of the Empress, as verified by a rescript by Maria Theresa dated 9 May 1746, which permitted them to gather alms in the towns of Prague from the beginning to the middle of Advent and during Lent. It is possible to judge from this that Leopold I's charter of 1659 on the gathering of alms in Prague

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no longer served any practical purpose and that the friars had again to obtain permission for this source of income.[7]

Fig. 31 A portrait of Rudolph O'Neill, guardian of the Irish Franciscan college in Prague. A drawing by Prague Auxiliary Bishop Johann Rudolph Sporck (SK).

THE FADING FLAME OF SCOTISM

We can learn about study activities from the thesis published by the teaching staff on the occasion of a thesis defence. Besides Griffin's literary output, naturally there were other theologians in the college. One was Peter Archdekin, Bishop of Killala, who occupied quite an important position in the college. From fragmentary annotations to documents of the visitation protocol, it is possible to estimate how long he stayed at the college, but he was no longer there at the time of the visitation. A document dated February 1736 has, however, been preserved, in which Johann Moritz Gustav, Count Manderscheid, granted him the right to (once again) consecrate the Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, during which the remains of the martyrs Clementia and Amadeus were embedded in the high altar.[8] His philosophical work, published on the occasion of the defence by František Ferdinand, Count

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Novohradský of Kolovraty, in 1732, shows that the teachers at the college still had secular students.[9] Apart from the previously mentioned Michael MacCullinand Bernard Molloy, Archdekin's colleagues also included Francis Maguire and, in 1736, Francis Higgin. Among the teachers in the preceding period were also the late guardian Francis Fitzgibbon (recorded as a lector in moral theology in 1718), and, from the visitation protocol, the well-known senior member of the community Peter Jones (recorded as a lector in theology in 1715).[10]

Works by Griffin's and Dalton's colleagues that have been preserved include Anthony Murphy's four-part *Theologia dogmatica* from 1755, a polemical textbook primarily concerning a systematic refutation of the views and arguments of non-Catholics and non-Christians in the basic teachings of the Catholic Church.[11] The names of other teachers whose works dating from the 1750s have been preserved are not, however, mentioned in the visitation protocol. The only exceptions are Peter Fullum from Leinster, eighteen at the time of the visitation, who was a student and evidently a supporter of Griffin, and Michael Keogh, a lector in moral theology. Twenty years later, Fullum was a lector in theology in Prague, while Keogh became guardian and is recorded as being the oldest member of the college in 1765.[12] We would search in vain in the material connected with the visitation for Louis MacNamara, lector in theology in 1751, or Anthony O'Brien, a long-serving teacher at the college who was recorded as a lector in philosophy in 1750, lector in moral theology in 1752 and lector in dogmatic theology three times – first in 1756, then in 1762 and again from 1765 to 1770 when he was also a discreet.[13] He was still alive when the college was dissolved. His namesake, Bonaventure O'Brien, taught philosophy at the college in 1758. In 1756, one of the lectors in philosophy was Christopher Fleming, who later became lector in theology in Prague (1760) (Fig. 32; Fig. 33).[14] In 1750, Bonaventure Managhan was recorded as a lector in philosophy and it was under his chairmanship that Francis Davett defended his philosophy thesis in July. The thesis was in the form of a single sheet with a depiction of St. Francis under a palm tree with portraits of Franciscan saints, blesseds and popes. This was, however, most probably the second time the copperplate had been used because its creator, Balthasar van Westerhout, had died in 1728 and also the hairstyle of the patron portrayed (although there is no dedication whatever on the thesis) is in the fashion of about thirty years previously.[15] James Griffin evidently died in Prague in the first half of 1758 and both Anthony Murphy and Peter Fullum in 1762.[16]

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S. PATRICIVS HIBERNIÆ APOSTOLVS NATVS EST ANNO SALVTIS CCCLXXIII. MISSVS AVTEM AD HIBERNOS A CÆLESTINO PRIMO PONTIFICE MAXIMO ANNO DOMINI CCCCXXXII. SEPVLTVS EST ANNO CCCCXCIII.

THESES THEOLOGICÆ DE DEO UNO ET TRINO
EJUSQUE ATTRIBUTIS
AD MENTEM DOCTORIS SUBTILIS
JOANNIS SCOTI HIBERNI DUNENSIS.
Quæ sub Glorioſiſſimi Auſpicio
Idolorum Extirpatoris, Paganorum Pavoris, Miraculorum Patratoris, veræ Fidei Seminatoris,
DIVI PATRITII GLORIOSI HIBERNIÆ APOSTOLI.
PRÆSIDE P. F. BONAVENTURA MANAGHAN, S. Ord. Min. Strict. Obſerv. Almæ Provinciæ Hiberniæ Sacræ Theologiæ
Lectore actuali in Collegio PP. Hibernorum Pragæ
Propugnatum
PP. PP. Franciſcus Davett, & Dominicus Davett, ejuſdem Ordinis, Nationis, ac Collegii Alumni
Anno Dom. 1752. Menſe Julio die hora Meridiem conſueta.

Fig. 32 An engraving with scenes from the life of St. Patrick by Jan Kryštof Smíšek (after the mid-17th century). The engraving was used again 1752 for the thesis print (SK).

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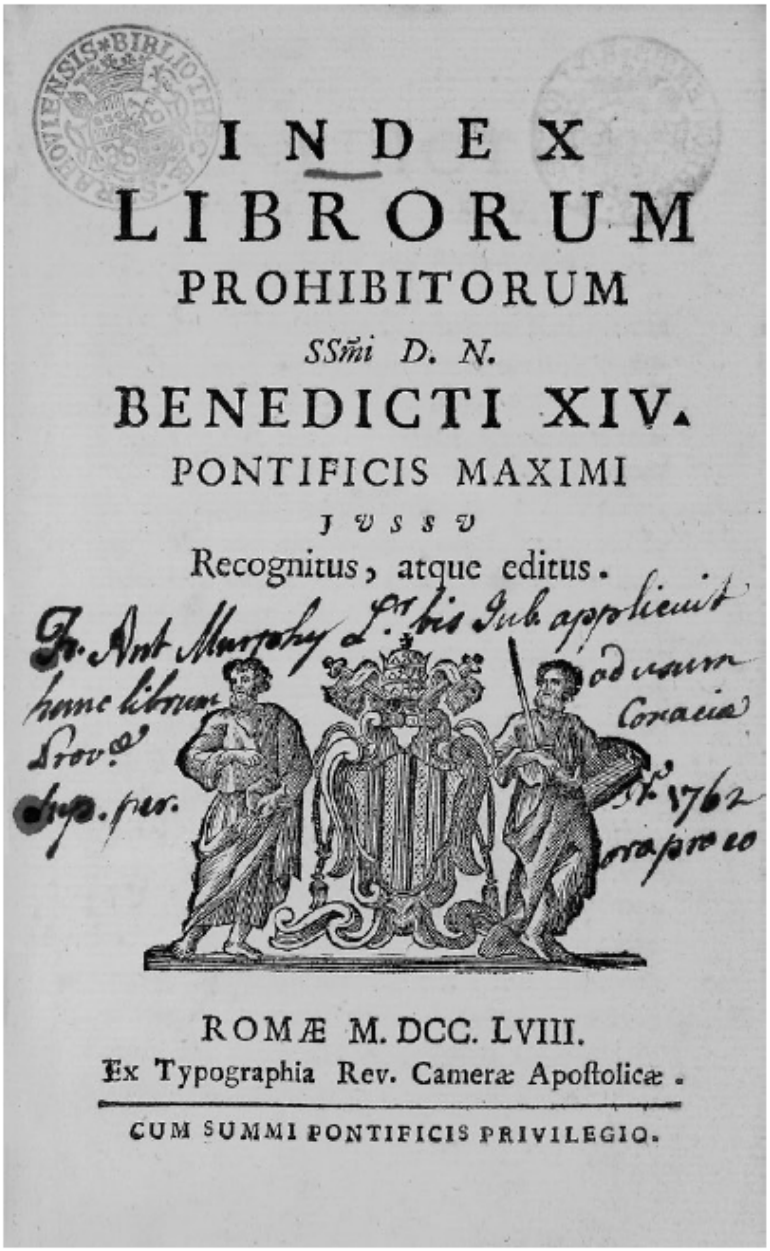
INDEX
LIBRORUM
PROHIBITORUM
SSmi D. N.
BENEDICTI XIV.
PONTIFICIS MAXIMI
JUSSU
Recognitus, atque editus.
ROMÆ M. DCC. LVIII.
Ex Typographia Rev. Cameræ Apostolicæ.
CUM SUMMI PONTIFICIS PRIVILEGIO.

Fig. 33 The title page of the copy of *Index librorum prohibitorum* which was owned by Anthony Murphy the younger (Rome 1758, SK).

In the subsequent decade, lectors in dogmatic theology at the college included Patrick Brady (recorded in 1765) and Anthony Coskran (1766 and 1770), while Patrick O'Brien (1766 and 1770) was lector in bible studies. Thomas O'Donoghue (1770), who had defended his theology thesis four years earlier under the chairmanship of Coskran, and Bartholomew Fagan (1772) were lectors in philosophy in the 1770s. The final decade saw the lector in philosophy James O' Flynn (1780) and Thomas Clancy who, besides defences of traditional Scotist views, inveighed emotionally against the Enlightenment.[17]

If we want to examine the personnel of the college in the final twenty years of its existence, we are dependent on the documents in the archives of the Prague Archbishopric, which originated as a rule in connection with the problems the college encountered. For this reason, the superficial impression may easily be that the friars were unable to disentangle themselves from

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complaints and scandals. Nevertheless, in the early 1770s, when a further volume of records was preserved at the archbishopric, more than thirty years had passed since the visitation described above and we have no information, either positive or negative, from this period. In 1771, a certain James Murphy began to study at the college. He did not get on with the guardian, Michael Tipper, towards whom he obviously felt a strong personal antipathy and rather stereotypically accused him of bad administration of the college, bad management of the finances, questionable personal characteristics and the contravention of the directives of his superiors. Murphy differed from the usual chronic complainer in his determination to take the matter higher, and when he was unsuccessful at the Prague Archbishopric and punished with confinement to the college, which became close confinement after an attempt to escape, he eventually (in about autumn 1772) set out for Rome to see the general of the order. The question of how he managed his departure remains unanswered in the available material. What is clear is that the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars passed the investigation of the case to the Archbishop of Prague, who entrusted the whole affair to the Suffragan Bishop of Prague, Jan Ondřej Kayser of Kaysern, in May 1773. Within a week, an investigation began in the college. Its conclusions were not at all surprising: some spoke in the guardian's support, some spoke against him, and Kayser himself recommended his dismissal. In March 1774, Tipper was in fact no longer guardian, but this was because his period of office had elapsed. On the subsequent fate of James Murphy the documents are silent. At the time of the investigation, there were twenty-eight priests, sixteen clerics and seventeen lay brothers in the college, one of the priests being in the Prácheň region at the time. Lectors in philosophy were then Thomas O'Hogan and James O' Reilly, and lectors in theology were Bartholomew Fagan, Bonaventure O'Kelly, Peter Cornen and the already mentioned Anthony Coskran and Patrick O'Brien. Anthony O'Brien and Peter Kelly, a former guardian, are recorded as *lectores jubilati.* The lay brothers, whose number had considerably increased since the visitation, all came from the Bohemian Crown Lands.[18]

The agenda of the Irish Franciscan college intensified at the archiepiscopal office from the beginning of the 1780s. That is, on 29 March 1781, a court decree was issued which, if interpreted strictly, would almost have placed the college outside the law. All religious institutes in the hereditary (i.e. Habsburg) lands had to sever their connection with their foreign counterparts and superiors (apart from purely spiritual contacts, that is, prayers and supplications). If a religious institute was under the control of a general of the order who was not based in the monarchy, it had to be placed under the control of the local provincial, supervised by the local diocesan bishops. Religious were forbidden to travel to general chapters

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and congregations abroad, and, by the same token, visitations and the visits of spiritual reformers from abroad to religious institutes in the monarchy were also forbidden. Foreigners were not allowed to be superiors and the necessity for private journeys by religious to Rome and other foreign countries would also be restricted by this measure.[19] The college passed into the administration of the archbishop, who now supervised the selection of the guardian, confirmed new superiors and new lectors, carried out visitations and adjudicated in disputed matters. It was clearly impossible to implement the regulation's statutes to the letter, and the college obviously enjoyed certain privileges (for example, the regulation about local superiors was impractical) but nevertheless, in the light of this decree and similar ones, the idea of a missionary centre managed from above turned into a farce. In 1783, Bonaventure Killdea completed his period of office as guardian and in his place Michael Fullum was elected and confirmed in the post, but he died most probably in early 1785. Fullum's successor was James O'Kelly, elected in May 1785. Even before his election, the representatives of the college were demanding that the powers of the discreets be strengthened and checks on the (primarily financial) affairs of the college be carried out.

The increasing interference of the state in the field of education had, however, been felt by the Franciscans much earlier. The uniform method of teaching theology imposed on the university had admittedly initially been ignored by the mendicant orders, but from 1770 onwards had been imposed on all the schools of the mendicant orders without exception.[20] Anthony O'Coskran's thesis, which he defended at Prague University, came only from the second half of the eighteenth century (1756). The Imperial decrees directly demanded greater participation of non-Jesuits in academic life and, from the 1750s, the representation of teachers from different orders and colleges was enforced for the teaching of theology.[21] The college avoided these attempts at unifying the education of future priests, which were crowned in 1783 by the opening of a single general seminary for all clergy without exception, but it was not due to the diplomacy of its superiors but rather because of the state officials' conviction that the Irish were "unuseable" in local spiritual administration and possibly also due to the secret opinion that the college would, sooner or later, be dissolved. The court decree of 1 December 1783 permitted the Irish Franciscans to complete their studies with their own lectors, while simultaneously forbidding them to serve in religious administration with this qualification.[22] Teaching at the college continued as normal until its dissolution in 1786.

In the spring of 1786, clouds were already gathering over the college. During April, Emperor Joseph II was considering the dissolution of the college and raised the question with

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the burgrave, Count of Nostitz of how the building could be used for military purposes. Despite its uncertain future, however, community life went on, and practically at the same time, led by Erasmus Dionysius Krieger, vicar general and official of the Archbishop of Prague,[23] a canonical visitation took place, the report from which was preserved at the archbishopric and during which the last guardian of the Prague college, Thomas O'Hogan, was elected.[24]

To conclude, we should also mention the departure of missionaries to Ireland, those of the second half of the eighteenth century being recorded on a register, now in the archives of the Prague Archbishopric, which was published by Benignus Millett. The register appeared in connection with the use of alms to pay for clothing, books and other necessities for departing missionaries. In the years 1756 to 1783, forty-five friars received this, but a note at the end of the register adds that about another seventy were not allowed the viaticum. It seems that the college was not as bad in the fulfilment of its calling as some reports would suggest.[25]

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1 The authorisation is dated 24.11.1736. All the facts mentioned below are based mainly on the visitation protocol, NA, APA, book no. B 65/13. A part of the visitation protocol – a list of the members of the college on ff. 386–389 – was published by Benignus Millett, "Some lists of Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1656–1791," *Collectanea hibernica* 36–37 (1994–5): 67–71. This list, however, is not complete.

2 Stanislav Sousedík, *Filosofie v českých zemích mezi středověkem a osvícenstvím* [*Philosophy in the Bohemian Crown Lands between the Middle Ages and the Enlightenment*] (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1997) 282 and in more detail in his *Jan Duns Scotus. Doctor subtilis a jeho čeští žáci* [John Duns Scotus. Doctor Subtilis and His Bohemian Pupils] (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1989).

3 On the list of Griffin's printed works, see Hedvika Kuchařová and Jan Pařez, "On the trail of Irish émigrés in the collections of the Strahov Abbey Library in Prague," *The Ulster Earls and Baroque Europe. Refashioning Irish Identities, 1600–1800*, eds. Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010) 208–211. *Tractatus theologicus de tribus naturae humanae statibus* . . . Pragae 1732, now in NK in Prague, is not shown here.

4 We have an undated manuscript of the statutes. It was last amended in 1741. It records the wording of the statutes of 1664, confirmation of this wording of 1665, and additions from 1741. For the period before the additions from 1741, we are not able to paleographically distinguish individual time layers of text. In future it would be appropriate to carry out a differential analysis of the Prague and the Roman copies.

5 Rudolph O'Neill is the only Irish Franciscan in Prague whose portrait has been preserved. A pen drawing of the guardian was made by Johann Rudolph Count Sporck, Prague auxiliary bishop and canon of the chapter house at St. Vitus at Prague Castle, and included in Sporck's sketchbook, now saved in the SK, MS DE III 19, f. 52r. For this seven-volume work, see Pravoslav Kneidl, "Šporkiana kreseb hraběte Jana Rudolfa Šporka,"

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Strahovská knihovna 20–21 (1985–1986): 183–214. Rudolph O'Neill was mentioned in the last will of John Louis O'Devlin who was a major in the Austrian army and uncle of another renowned Irish Franciscan Francis O' Devlin who is however not the renowned Prague one. According to this testament of 1729, Rudolph O'Neill received 50 florins to buy books, see Anselm Ó Fachtna, "The last will of John Louis O Devlin (1729)," *Journal of the South Derry Historical Society*, 1.4 (1983–84): 349, 353, 354.

6 Vigilius Greiderer, *Germania franciscana, seu chronicon geographo-historicum ordinis S. P. Francisci in Germania. Tomus I.*, Oeniponte 1777, 787.

7 NA, L2, ŘH sA, no. 1229. In 1718, Charles VI confirmed all the previous privileges of the college, ibid., no. 1228.

8 NA, ŘHyb Praha, carton no. 45.

9 Kuchařová and Pařez, "On the trail of Irish émigrés," 195. In May 1736, Archdekin was in Vienna and he asked Friedrich August, Count Harrach, to support him in obtaining some benefices in the Spanish Netherlands which had been promised to him by the Emperor. A year later, he was in Brussels but was unsuccessful because, in March 1738, he wrote to Harrach from Dublin that "he is eating the bread of adversity," and he asked him for financial support. The correspondence between Count Harrach and Archdekin is stored in 'ÖSW, FA Harrach, carton no. 482.

10 In both cases, the prints of the theses have been preserved. Under the chairmanship of Peter Jones, Anthony MacMahon defended his theological thesis; the theme of the unsigned sheet dedicated to Baron Račín was Christ Crucified (SbR, inv. no. 233). Under the chairmanship of Francis Fitzgibbon, Bernardine Murphy defended his thesis; the engraving was dedicated to Count Vratislav of Mitrovice and it showed an allegorical celebration of John of Nepomuk (at that time, he had not yet been canonised) signed "Balt. v. Westerhaut vendit Pragae" (NA, SbR, inv. no. 239).

11 The high evaluation of Blaise Pascal, who was a Jansenist, is interesting here. Anthony Murphy, *Theologia dogmatica*, Pragae 1755, 170. The work mentioned is *Pensées*. In the chapter dedicated to *Writing and Tradition*, especially to the authorship of the Pentateuch, Murphy lists Herbert of Cherbury or Spinoza as among the opponents of Thomas Hobbes.

12 Kuchařová and Pařez, "On the trail of Irish émigrés," 207.

13 Ibid., 212 and 215–217.

14 Ibid., 217 and 206–207.

15 SK, without a shelf mark.

16 At least, this is indicated in the record of the money sent to some Franciscans by their relatives and friends to cover expenses related to their return to Ireland. However, the recipients died in Prague and the money was left with the college. NA, APA, carton no. 2101, Millett, "Some lists of Irish Franciscans in Prague," 74.

17 Sousedík, *Filosofie v českých zemích mezi středověkem a osvícenstvím*, 285–286. In the Strahov library, there are, for example, *Theses theologicae ex tractatibus de Deo Uno Trino et Incarnato* from 1783 defended by Bonaventure Smith, EZ II 51/18. The *Theses philosophicae* from 1780, preserved by O'Flynn and defended by

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James Connolly and Peter Brady, FG V 2/11. Kuchařová and Pařez, "On the trail of Irish émigrés," 200 and 219. The disputation from 1786, in which theses in theology were defended by James Collins, Peter O'Dolan and Bonaventure Smith, all under Clancy's chairmanship, may well be the last occasion from which prints from the college have been preserved. See Kevin MacGrath, "The Irish Franciscan Library at Prague," *Franciscan College Annual 1951*, (Multyfarnham 1951): 29, note no. 1.

18 NA, APA, carton no. 2101. Here is preserved a letter by the Irish Franciscans dated 27.3.1774 concerning the fact that the former guardian, Tipper, and his supporters spread rumours to the effect that Tipper had been unjustly deprived of office following intervention by the Archbishop. The list is published in Millett, "Some lists of Irish Franciscans in Prague," 77–79.

19 Peter Karl Jaksch, *Gesetzlexikon im Geistlichen, Religions- und Toleranzfache, wie auch in Güter- Stiftungs- Studien- und Zensurssachen für das Königreich Böhmen von 1601 bis Ende 1800*. Bd. 4 (Prag: K.K. Gubernial registratur, 1828) 257–259.

20 Jaksch, *Gesetzlexikon*, Bd. 4, 531–532 and 533–534.

21 Josef Tříška, *Disertace pražské univerzity 16.–18. století* [*The Dissertations of Prague University in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*] (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1977) 128.

22 NA, APA, carton no. 2101.

23 On Krieger, see Podlaha, *Series praepositorum, decanorum, archidiaconorum aliorumque praelatorum et canonicum, S. Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Pragensis a primordiis usque ad praesentia tempora* (Praha: Metropolitní kapitula u sv. Víta, 1912) 291–293.

24 NA, APA, carton no. 2101.

25 Millett, "Some lists of Irish Franciscans in Prague," 71–73.

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